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The People's Korea

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Dr. Pentagon Papers Says Nuke in Japan & S. Korea Is for First Strike on DPRK, Favors Nuclear-Free Peace Zone

See Exclusive Interview with Dr. Ellsberg Page 8

Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, a key figure behind the disclosure of the controversial Pentagon Papers, which gave ammunition to the campaign against the Vietnam War, claimed that nuclear weapons stored in Iwakuni and other bases in Japan and in south Korea are for first strikes against the DPRK.

In an exclusive interview with a staff writer of The People's Korea at a downtown hotel in Tokyo on June 13, a former Pentagon nuclear-control researcher, describing the dangers of nuclear exchange in an American first strike over Korea, expressed endorsement of the idea of marking out a nuclear-free peace zone in Northeast Asia and in other parts of the world, ultimately covering the whole of the globe.

His view was shared by Lord Philip Noelbaker of the United Kingdom, a Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1959, Mr. Gerd Greune of West Germany, Secretary General of the International Peace Bureau based in Geneva and Mr. Sidney Lens, founder of the Mobilization for Survival, a coalition of over 120 organizations in the United States. (See PK, May 22)

Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque, director of the Center for Defense Information, based in Washington, D.C., is a long-time critic of the U.S. nuclear presence in south Korea and Japan.

Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque claims that the Americans store nuclear weapons both in Japan and south Korea. Those in south Korea, he says, total at least 700. He argues that the arms buildup in south Korea and the U.S. nuclear presence there are raising a spectre of nuclear holocaust to Korea and its neighboring countries.

Dr. Ellsberg, visiting Japan for a speaking tour at the invitation of Sohyo (the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), the largest trade organization of this nation, is actively involved in the worldwide campaign to make mankind free from nuclear war threats.

He objects to Japan being kept under the nuclear umbrella of the United States, on the grounds that it rather invites nuclear attack, far from becoming protective.

The American nuclear control specialist told The People's Korea that "a major mission of Marines in Korea, the Marine aircraft, is to support U.S. operations in south Korea against north Korea."

"U.S. planning has always been based on a readiness to initiate nuclear operations in the event of conflicts. For that purpose, nuclear weapons have always been stored in Korea as well."

Quoting former Defense Secretary Schlesinger as declaring the U.S. readiness to initiate nuclear war in Korea, Dr. Daniel Ellsberg observed, "the U.S. planning has always allowed for a possibility that the U.S. aircraft or missiles strike first."

Describing the premises of nuclear strike, the former Pentagon researcher said, "The U.S. planning does not require any expectation that the adversary has the capability to launch nuclear strikes or air strikes at all, or is about to do so."

Saying, "any hostilities in Korea have a great potential for expanding into nuclear exchange just as in the Middle East," Dr. Ellsberg warned of "a great danger of their spreading to Japan and other neighboring countries."

Calling American policy "characterized by extreme short-sightedness, reckless narrow-minded militaristic focus", the former Pentagon official declared such policy is "genocidal and suicidal."

With regard to the question of establishing a nuclear-free peace zone, Dr. Ellsberg said, "Of course, I strongly favor a non-nuclear peace zone as large as possible, ultimately covering the entire globe."

The proposed measures he listed include no first-use commitment (of nuclear weapons) and a freeze on the production, testing and the deployment of nuclear weapons.

Chollima Street, Pyongyang

Israeli Attack on Iraqi Reactor

The WPK official organ on June 16 carried a commentary castigating the Israeli aircrafts for bombing an Iraqi reactor in the vicinity of her capital.

The signed commentary of Rodong Sinmun titled "Reckless Aggression of Trigger-Happy Elements" says in part: Zionists who have been intensifying aggression against Lebanon and Syria committed an air raid on the capital of Iraq this time.

Israel's brigandish aggression against Iraq is a crude violation of international law and a grave threat to peace and security in the Mideast.

This is a premeditated act aimed to further aggravate the Middle East situation which is becoming ever more complicated, surrounding Lebanon.

The Korean people pungently denounce the brigandish aggression of Israel against Iraq and express firm militant solidarity with the Arab people's just struggle against the aggressors.

Arrogantly announcing that they "will not allow anyone to develop mass destruction weapons against Israel," the Israeli aggressors claimed that it was their legitimate "right" to make an air raid on the Iraqi reactor.

This is a shameless gangster-like sophism to justify the brutal aggressive act.

The recent air raid on Iraq showed once again to the whole world that Zionists are a group of gangsters who take international terrorism as a state policy and vicious warmaniacs engaged in aggression and sabotages against other countries in a bid to realize their wild ambition for expansionism.

It is because of the active support and encouragement of the U.S. that the Israeli aggressors are acting arrogantly.

Reckless, brigandish aggressive acts of Israel must no longer be permitted in the Middle East.

The situation now prevailing in that region urgently demands the Arab countries firmly unite and jointly counter the aggression of Zionists, their common enemy.

Unity of the Arab countries in the struggle against the Israeli aggressors is a source of invincible strength and a reliable guarantee for victory.

If the Arab countries with abundant human and material resources firmly unite and take concerted action, they will undoubtedly be able to check and frustrate the Israeli aggression, safeguard their national independence and dignity and preserve and consolidate peace in the Middle East.

The Korean people will always stand firm on the side of fraternal Arab peoples and extend active support and encouragement to them till their just struggle against the Israeli aggressors, the common enemy, wins final victory.

If the Middle East problem is to be solved fairly, the aggression of Israel against the Arab countries should be discontinued, and Israel must withdraw from all occupied Arab lands and the legitimate national rights of the Palestine people including establishment of an independent state must be ensured. This is a unanimous demand of the world people and a solemn demand of times.

Konguk, Kyongbuk Univ. Students Blast Gen. Chon

An anti-"government" meeting was held at Konguk University in Seoul on June 8 with the attendance of a large number of students according to a report from Seoul.

At the meeting a second-year student of the university made an agitating speech on the situation and earnestly appealed to fellow students to rise up in an anti-fascist struggle.

Upset by the spread of the flame of struggle to Konguk University, the Chon junta arrested and persecuted the student and threw him behind bars on June 13 on charges of violation of the "law on assembly and demonstration."

Copies of a leaflet headlined "Let Us Rise Again in the Sacred War for Democracy" were scattered on the campus of Kyongbuk University in Taegu recently when anti-"government" campaign of south Korean students were breaking out at different universities, according to ratio "Voice of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification."

The leaflet read:

The fellow students in Seoul and courageous fighters in Kwangju are calling us.

Let a flame sweep Seoul, Kwangju and Taegu.

Let us dash forward against the mad clatter of the military boots crying for blood.

Let us rise up like angry waves and beat Chon Du Hwan.

Indolence is a shame to youth.

Let us wage the sacred war for democracy till the day of the victory of the struggle for democracy, nation and civil rights, not yielding to any suppression and determinedly denying servile compromise!

Let us tear Chon Du Hwan to pieces!

Guarantee freedom of speech!

Release the arrested students!

Stop campus surveillance!

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Nampo Will Become City in Park

Nampo is becoming a city in a park. President Kim Il Sung observed at a consultative meeting of local officials held on May 22 in Nampo Municipality. He was visiting the city for a two-day (May 22 and 23) on-the-spot guidance to it.

Those which got the Presidential guidance included a planned construction site of a new lock gate, the Taean Heavy Machine Combine, the Nampo Smeltery, the Waudo Street and the Waudo Pleasure Park.

On the planned site of a lock gate which involves stemming the sea along nearly 8 kilometers he called workers to complete the construction in a few years. May 22, 1981 was set as day of ground breaking and the project is scheduled to be completed by May 22, 1984.

The planned lock gate will supply water to vast areas of South Pyongan and North and South Hwanghae provinces and paddy fields on a reclaimed tideland of Nampo.

On May 22 a consultative meeting of local officials was held, with mainly on vast nature-remaking projects and making Nampo Municipality better to live in.

Construction of more industrial establishments was defined as an important task to be carried out in order to make Nampo Municipality an industrial city.

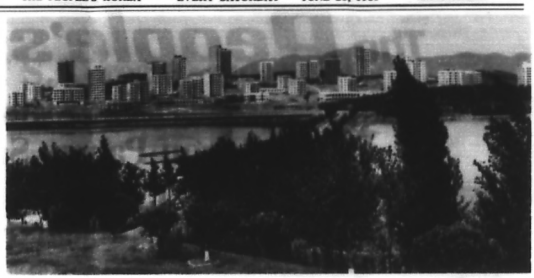
Housing projects, the consultative meeting disclosed, would be continued for the building of more high-rise flats on hillsides and many parks and green belts, to provide a life in a park.

For the reclamation of tideland, the chief executive set forth these tasks: To use a new desalinization method and to supply advanced equipment and materials.

Another consultative meeting was held on May 22 at the Taean Heavy Machine Combine.

The meeting stressed the need to achieve an effective management of the combine and equipment, to improve workers' technical and skill level and to raise the quality of products.

Also its set tasks were: To mass produce generating equipment, and to produce lots of ordered equipment including various types of rolling machines.



A view of Nampo Municipality to be constructed better

Factory Construction Cancelled If Danger of Pollution Found

A delegation of DPRK doctors of Oriental medical science headed by Ryu Kyong Hwi, vice-president of the Academy of Medical Science, visited Japan between April 23 and May 4 at the invitation of the Kansai district Japan-Korea science association. The delegation toured various places including Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Toyama and inspected medical systems and facilities here.

The head of the delegation had a discussion meeting with vice-chairman of the association Katamura Eiju. Yu Sun Bong, director of the Kong Hwa Hospital, Osaka, Japan, was also there as chairman. The Kong Hwa Hospital is a hospital for Korean residents here.

Follow excerpts from their discussions.

Vice-Chairman Katamura Eiju (right), Vice-President Ryu Kyong Hwi (center) and Director Yu Sun Bong (left)

Free Medicare System Enforced during Korean War

Ryu: I deeply thought how medical science should served the people, during our visits to various medical centers and care centers in Kyoto, Osaka, Toyama and other places in Japan. Especially, I realized differences in social systems between a socialist country and a capitalist country. My inspection of many hospitals, educational facilities and science research institutes made me realize that if they do not have enough money, poor people can not study nor get medical treatment in Japan.

However, I was greatly moved by the fact that honest-minded Japanese scientists were making sincere efforts to develop medical science and techniques.

Katamura: As Dr. Ryu says medical services should be dedicated to the promotion of people's happiness. However, there is a great difference between socialist and capitalist countries in valuing human beings. So, I am very much interested in the completely free medical system and preventive medicine of socialist Korea.

Only a few socialist countries enforce a completely free medicare system for the people. People in most other socialist countries pay for medical treatment they get. This is the reality.

As for preventive medicine, pollution problems are caused in some socialist countries due to lack of preventive work. I would like to know why the DPRK having a socialist system like other socialist countries has been able to establish such a superior medicare system and how it is maintained.

Ryu: President Kim Il Sung always teaches us that man is most precious of all in our society. He has defined human beings as masters of all things since long ago. To push ahead with our revolution and construction, he also stresses, people's health should be protected and promoted. This derives from the Juche idea. We, medical workers, have been making efforts to protect people's health, bearing his idea in our minds.

Our country is the only country among socialist countries that implements a completely free medicare system. During the Korean War, the President considered medical service to be a matter of highest priority, and enforced a free medical service system during the war or in 1953.

Thorough Preventive Medicine Applied

Yu: It was nearly 30 years ago that a free medical system was established in the DPRK. Under this system, free medical treatment, free operations, free medicine and free food are now guaranteed for the people and even free double tickets to sanatoria. Dental treatment and child-delivery are also free. People can get medical treatment without any worry.

Ryu: You are quite right. The most important policy of preventive medicine in our country is to provide people with environmental conditions which are not harmful to their health and good conditions for living. For example, industrial areas are constructed in such a way as to prevent air and water pollution. When a factory is planned, a health organization investigates the construction site. If it is clear from the results of investigation that the factory may possibly cause environmental disruption, the plan is cancelled. In a sense, the Public Health Ministry has more authority in these matters than the ministries of industry and construction in the DPRK, I think.

Katamura: I very much envy your country, particularly at a time accidents at atomic power plants are causing a social problem in Japan.

I want to be informed of the results of your efforts for public health promotion.

Ryu: Thanks to the overall development of public health preservation activities, the average life span of the people in our country reaches 70 for males and 76 for females.

Katamura: That is at the highest level in the world. I checked on the comparable figures of the south Korean people. They are 63 for males and 69 for females. How about the death rate?

Ryu: In 1976, the death rate has been lowered to one-fourth of that in pre-liberation days. At present, it is 4.4 persons per 1,000 of the population.

Katamura: Japan's death rate is 6.1 persons per 1,000. Your country's death rate is lower than that of Japan. South Korea's rate is 11.0 persons per 1,000. How about the number of doctors?

Ryu: As of 1979 the DPRK had 23.3 doctors per 10,000 people. Beds number 120 per 10,000.

Katamura: Considering the DPRK's population of 17,400,000, one doctor takes care of 429 people. In Japan, doctors number 205,000 in all (including dentists). The number of doctors are 18.9 per 10,000 people or one doctor per 536 people. The DPRK's number is very high.

In south Korea with a population of 36,430,000, there are only 17,180 doctors, that is only 4.6 doctors for 10,000 people, or one doctor per 2,118 people.

Role of Oriental Medicine

Yu: What role does the DPRK's medical care system attach to Oriental medicine and traditional medical recipes?

Ryu: Oriental medicine has a long history in our country. After the liberation, the President called for a combined use of Oriental science and European science. According to this line, Oriental medicine has been rapidly developed.

What is important is not to use old medical knowledge uncritically or not to use unscientific methods, including those superstitions, but to exploit only its excellent parts for both prevention and treatment of diseases.

In cases when European medicine doesn't work, Oriental therapy is effective.

As you know, modern medical science brings about an immediate effect, while herb medicine is slow in effect, but its efficacy is certain and lasting, without causing side effects.

Presently an effort is concentrated on discovering an expanding these efficacies of Oriental medicine.

Katamura: How effective are Oriental medicine, acupuncture, moxibustion and massage in preventing diseases?

Ryu: Oriental medicine has many prescriptions, many as adjuvants. Their scientific and systematic application greatly helps prevent diseases.

For example, it is said that if moxa is applied to the same spot many times, the patient will live long. Living long means a long life without any diseases. If this kind of effect is properly elucidated and used practically, the average life span will increase.

Katamura: Thank you for valuable remarks. Your delegation is the first medical delegation from the DPRK ever to visit Japan. A medical exchange between your delegation and the Japanese, I think, is successfully being carried out, through its inspections to many medical centers and with meeting with Japanese counterparts. I want to see this relationship developed further in the future.

Ryu: I completely agree with you. I have learned many things from discussions with the Japanese doctors at various places. I hope active exchanges of successes achieved in this field will greatly contribute toward the promotion of health of the peoples of two countries.

A doctor explaining herb medicine to his old patients

Gen. Chon Du Hwan's Disqualifications

First Count: First-Degree Slaughter of Fellow Countrymen

--Guilty of At Least Some 2,000 Deaths in Kwangju

In May, 1980, when more than 300,000 people rose in an uprising in Kwangju, the capital of South Cholla Province, Gen. Chon Du Hwan ordered nearly 20,000-strong heavily-armed combat soldiers of his martial-law command into the city to crack down on the local citizens. Warplanes, helicopter gunships, and tanks, plus artillery pieces and flame-throwers were committed to the raid on the besieged city.

Men and women, young and old, including infants and pregnant women and girl students, were killed in cold blood indiscriminately.

One estimate puts the number of those wounded at more than 15,000.

The atrocities by the martial-law troops were beyond description and outshine those in Vietnam committed by American GI's.

Second Count: Guilty of Mass Arrests of Innocent People, In Particular of Democratic Dissident Leaders

--In May last year, Gen. Chon Du Hwan, in his last-ditch bid to stem the democratic movement, expanded martial law to cover the whole of south Korea.

The strongman made mass arrests of almost all the democratic leaders, including Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam, student leaders, Christian leaders and journalists and lawyers, together with trade union activists.

The legislature, universities and colleges and political parties were ordered closed or outlawed.

Those arrested were brought to trial without justified reasons and sentenced to death and other heavy penalties.

Third Count: Illegal Seizure of Power

--In the December 12, 1979 coup, Gen. Chon Du Hwan, in total contravention of the military chain of command, mobilized south Korean troops and arrested senior military officers and established himself as army strongman.

Some 40 military leaders were detained with frotn-line troops diverted from the Demilitarized Zone with overt permission from the American Command.

--With the legislature suspended, Gen. Chon wrote numerous laws, over 200 in all, designed to perpetuate himself in power and keep the democratic movement under control.

--Without any public debate and with martial law virtually in effect, he self-appointed himself as chief executive.

--Despite the fact that general elections were full of corruption and irregularities, marked by naked resort to force, his ruling party collected merely one-third of the votes.

WHY GEN. CHON SPEAKS OF SUMMIT

Reason Number One:

Gen. Chon is well aware of deep-seated widespread public distrust in his new commitments.

He knows well that his high-flown slogans seem mere carbon copy of the late dictator Pak Jung Hi's.

Then, the only effective policy with immediate appeals to the population is a commitment to reunification.

It is obvious that his reunification policy is potent confession of his own policy failure and isolation or lowest popularity rating.

Reason Number Two:

An important aim is to divert public attention from his authoritarian nature and deceive the population.

Popular grievances are mounting with each passing day, because of runaway inflation, exorbitant taxation, low wages, long working hours, pollution and in particular the denial of freedoms and democratic rights.

A lesson from the past is that the reunification issue is exploited when the local authorities are in a crisis.

Meanings:

(1) His lip-service rather serves to spotlights his own flout of the issue of reunification, the supreme popular concern.

(2) His lip-service is another admission of the unanimous popular aspirations which underlie all the democratic dissident movements, the thing no force can hold in check.

(3) Therefore, Gen. Chon Du Hwan must apologize to the whole nation for his misconduct

(4) Gen. Chon Du Hwan must resign at once and release all the arrested democratic leaders with democratic order restored.

Seoul's Underground Dissidents Issue "Democratic Unity Declaration," Call for Chon's Ouster

An in-depth report from south Korea casts a new light on the real nature of the Chon Du Hwan junta and calls for world-wide solidarity for the south Koreans' struggle for democracy. The report, entitled "The Democratic Unity Declaration – In Commemoration of the First Anniversary of the Kwangju Uprising," authored by the South Korean Democratic Federation of Anti-Military & Dictatorship, was made public at the end of the Emergency World Assembly for South Korean Democracy held through May 16–19 in Tokyo.

In the prologue, the report said: "By exposing the real nature of the Chon Du Hwan dictatorial regime, we try to declare to our nation and the whole world the true colors of the Chon junta – a group of violence unprecedented in the history of our nation and the history of the world. In addition, by declaring the determined struggle of the Korean people for the ouster of Chon Du Hwan, we would like to call on the freedom-loving people of the world to join our own struggle."

The following is a gist of the report: (Subtitles are ours . . . Ed.)

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Photo: Riot policemen drive about the student demonstrators of Yonsei University. (May 13, 1980)

Real Nature:

Mil. Dictatorial Group Regards Violence As Means of Dominance

The Chon Du Hwan regime can be defined in essence as a military-dictatorial group which regards violence as a means of dominance. The process which the Chon Du Hwan clique seized power proves this clearly. Chon Du Hwan, a heaven-sent child of the Yusin system fondled by the dictator Pak Jung Hi under the Yusin system, was CIC commander which was one of the most important organs of violence maintaining the Yusin dictatorship. The CIC, a infamous torture group, and the Central Intelligence Agency, were the unmatched twin stars of the Yusin regime, torturing and imprisoning a great number of democratic figures and innocent people. The CIC was a rear guard composed of private soldiers serving the dictator Pak Jung Hi, rather than a military organ safeguarding national security. It was a political organ to maintain the Yusin system. The Chon Du Hwan and his men played an essential role in maintaining the Yusin dictatorship.

They judged that the democratization of south Korea would certainly bring about their ruin, after October 26, 1979, when Pak Jung Hi was assassinated by CIA Chief Kim Jae Gyu, and made preparations for a plot to oppose and frustrate democratization. Utilizing his official responsibilities, CIC commander Chon Du Hwan arrested and imprisoned Kim Jae Gyu and others, condemning the shooting at the dictator as a criminal act. Though it was made clear in the course of court hearings that Pak Jung Hi's assassination by Kim Jae Gyu was for the restoration of democracy, Chon Du Hwan prevented the press from reporting on the court hearing and made the interim government headed by Choi Gyu Ha who was called "a fool" proclaim emergency martial law, and made it hold a state funeral for the dictator Pak Jung Hi. This was a scheme on his part to inherit the dictatorship as Pak's successor, and to gain time taking advantage of the human national trait of the south Korean people which they show to other men's death. Chon Du Hwan illegally appointed himself chief investigator of the Pak Jung Hi assassination case under emergency martial law. (Under martial law, it was customary for the military police to conduct criminal investigations.) and suppressed the democratization movement at bayonet-point, by prohibiting all political activities. Meanwhile, he nursed a secret desire to gain time to institute a new dictatorship. They made the interim government of Choi Gyu Ha delay release of democratic figures including violators of emergency measures to prevent them from engaging in political activities. Chon made them maintain a vague stand on democratization.

In order to check democratization movements and to restructure a military dictatorship, the Chon group first carried out a coup d'etat, the so-called "December 12 incident" to eliminate opponents within the military. A bloody fight occurred in Seoul, the capital of south Korea, the Chon Du Hwan clique mobilized an armed force and used it for their personal power struggle. Thus, they seized real power within the military establishment by the "December 12 incident" and made desperate efforts to appear on the political stage by degrees, shaking the government of Choi Gyu Ha. It was none other than Chon Du Hwan who had openly stated just after the incident that Chong Sung Hwa, Chief of the General Staff of the Army, had no connection with the Pak Jung Hi assassination incident. But, to justify the "December 12 incident", he made a statement in which he said that Chong Sung Hwa had been arrested because he had a connection with the assassination incident.

Later, they began to hatch a plot openly to set up a new military dictatorship by making the Choi Gyu Ha government make statements for a bicameral system and a system of indirect presidential election. Further by making the interim government take the initiative in the amendment of the Constitution, they tried to create institutional devices to preserve the Yusin remnants and at the same time to found a new party.

It is clear that the above-mentioned plots hatched by the Chon junta to consolidate its dictatorial power, ran counter to the democratization of the south Korean society. The junta concocted the plots not openly but secretly. A "stable political situation" called for by the Chon junta at that time was only intended to allay people's concern the nation-wide democratic movement might be interrupted by the bayonets of the Yusin dictatorship, the Yusin remnants. Thus, Chon Du Hwan made active preparations for a halt to south Korea's democratization and for consolidation of his dictatorial power.

As a measure to consolidate his dictatorship, Gen. Chon held concurrently the post of Director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. His self-appointment as KCIA Director was the starting point of the plot of Chon Du Hwan and his company to play an active role in politics. It was just then that the democratic forces, youth and students, severely criticizing the plot of the Yusin remnants to establish a second Yusin dictatorial regime, held assemblies and staged demonstrations against it. They staged demonstrations to express strong opposition to the plot of the Chon Du Hwan military fascists. The foremost slogans of the democratization movement were an end to emergency martial law and resignation of Chon Du Hwan. At that time, emergency martial law proclaimed illegally and without any reason or legal ground, was aimed at suppressing the democratic movement. Also, Chon's appointment as KCIA Director was a flagrant violation of the KCIA law which prohibited the KCIA Director from taking another government office concurrently. Opposing the just demand of the democratic citizens, the Chon junta, without having any measures to improve the situation, was making desperate efforts to hatch plots and to prepare for suppression of the democratic movement by force of arms.

The democratic forces of various strata expected the interim government to take measures to democratize the society, but its pledges all proved to be lip-service. After all, Seoul streets were filled with shouting youths and students demanding an end to emergency martial law and resignation of Chon Du Hwan. They clearly represented the demand of the people. When loud shouts were being heard throughout the country, the junta carried out a coup d'etat at bayonet-point – the announcement of expansion of martial law throughout the country on May 17 – instead of taking measures for the democratization of the society. Although students' demonstrations were peaceful, Chon Du Hwan and his company prevented the press from reporting orderly demonstrations as they were. The junta also prevented the press from reporting on the fact that Mr. Kim Dae Jung had counseled moderation in a speech to students, and made desperate efforts to justify a coup d'etat, spreading false rumors. Finally, the junta carried out the May 17 coup d'etat.

The results of the May 17 emergency measure can be summed up as follows: 1) By extending emergency martial law throughout the country, the junta started full-scale military control over south Korea; 2) it suspended the national assembly and prohibited all political activities; 3) it arrested many democratic dissident leaders including Mr. Kim Dae Jung, politicians and students who opposed Chon Du Hwan's rule, and threw them in prison; and 4) it also ordered all the universities to be closed. These measures not only totally denied the democratization of the society but also ran counter to the Constitution and other relevant laws. While it was a large-scale suppressive measure against dissident democratic forces, the May 17 coup d'etat, a milestone in the course of Chon's conquest of dictatorial power, was another instance which clearly exposed Chon's real nature.

However, the real nature of Chon Du Hwan and the cruelty of his company were clearly disclosed in the course of the Kwangju Incident. During the Kwangju Incident, in which all citizens, from elementary school pupils to old men and

(Continued on page 5)

During the Kwangju Uprising, a banner on the front of the commandeered car reads: "Dismember Chon Du Hwan "

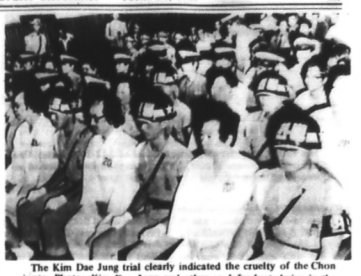
"Democratic Unity Declaration"

(Continued from page 4)

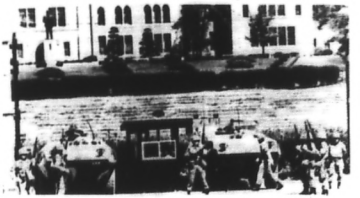
women, rose in an anti-government action, they committed brutal atrocities unparalleled in history – soldiers cut off the breasts of females and stabbed peaceful citizens with bayonets, firing at citizens indiscriminately. The nature and the inhumanity of the Chon Du Hwan junta were clearly revealed in the following two points: The brutalities against citizens were committed by the military; and the methods employed by the military were indescribably brutal and cold-blooded. The soldiers sent into Kwangju to commit the massacre were former armed forces serving Pak Jung Hi and helping him maintain his dictatorial rule, and the commander of the killer forces was Gen. Chon Du Hwan. Judging from these facts, Gen. Chon is not a soldier but nothing but a political gangster and the leader of a company of violent men armed with guns. The truth of the Kwangju Incident in which over 1,000 persons were killed, is not yet disclosed. Chon Du Hwan blamed the citizens for the incident and threw many of them in prison, torturing them and doing violence to them. Whenever we remember the bloodshed of the Kwangju Incident, we can never forgive Chon Du Hwan and his company. How can one who has conscience permit the existence of killer Chon Du Hwan? The Chon junta is the enemy of all human beings who have conscience, and of all humanity, as well as it is the enemy of the nation.

After the May 17 coup d'etat, Chon Du Hwan publicly performed a series of political farces to consolidate his dictatorial power: He illegally established the Emergency Counter-Measure Council for National Security and self-appointed himself as its chairman. By that time, Gen. Chon and his company had secured a firm grip on the whole of the country, including financial affairs, budgets, economic affairs. It was also during this period that they increased their depravity and corruption. As they were able to do everything with guns and bayonets, they purged any people who opposed the junta and deprived them of their property. Under a nice-sounding slogan "splendid method," they deprived their foes of property and acquired funds to maintain the dictatorial system. Through the above-mentioned plots, Gen. Chon forced Choi Gyu Ha to resign as president without any reason or just cause and held a session of the National Conference for Unification, the electoral college of the Yusin Constitution whose abolition had been demanded by the whole nation, to get it appoint himself as president. Then, he promulgated what he called a constitution under emergency martial law and got it ratified by a national referendum. However, judging from its control system, the new Constitution is nothing but a replica of the Yusin Constitution and an anti-democratic one. Therefore, the last presidential election was nothing but a farce under a military dictatorship, as the president was elected by an electoral college similar to the National Conference for Unification under the Yusin Constitution.

It is not so difficult to expose the illegal and anti-democratic process by which Chon Du Hwan usurped power. The following clearly show the real nature of the Chon Du Hwan military dictatorial system: A military dictatorial nature – suppression of the democratic movement; a military fascistic nature – expansion of the Yusin dictatorial forces; and a violent nature – satisfaction of personal ambition.



The Kim Dae Jung trial clearly indicated the cruelty of the Chon junta. Photo: Kim Dae Jung and other co-defendants being in the first session of court-martial held in Seoul. (August 14, 1980)



Martial law troopers stand in front of the gate of Koryo University on May 16, a day before Chon Du Hwan announced an extention of martial law throughout the country.

Characteristics:

Anti-Democratic, Anti-Popular, Anti-National, Anti-Peace, Amoral

The peculiarity of the Chon Du Hwan military dictatorial regime, a illegitimate child of the Dec. 26 incident, can be characterised by the following four features. The nature of the Chon regime is military-dictatorial and its characteristics are as follows: an anti-democratic feature (to regard violence and deception as means of dominance); an anti-popular feature (a handful of ruling circles monopolise privileges at the expense of the masses of people); an anti-national feature (to consolidate national division and to heighten tension between the north and the south); amoral and anti-peace feature (to oppose world peace and flout the conscience of the world's people).

Though the south Korean people and the world public know well the above-mentioned characteristics of the Chon regime, we would like to summarize the features once again to confirm those facts. The Chon regime will bring sufferings to the people, tragedy to the nation, threat of war to the world; and self-destruction to itself.

As already mentioned above, the Chon Du Hwan regime was born out of the system of violence already established to maintain the Yusin dictatorship. Therefore, we must understand that Chon's dictatorial system is an extension of the Yusin dictatorship.

Calling for the liquidation of remnants of the past, Gen. Chon once criticized one-man dictatorship, insisting on the necessity of peaceful transfer of power. However, it was a tactic to deceive public opinion. The above-mentioned special character of the Chon Du Hwan company can be illustrated by the following facts:

First, the new Constitution which provides for the control structures of Chon's Fifth Republic and 189 evil laws which were enacted by the Legislative Council for National Security within 166 days, clearly show the anti-democratic dictatorial character of the Chon regime. Judging from the illegality of enacting procedures, these laws can't be called laws of a democratic country. In general, in a democratic country laws are required to be enacted through a proper representative organ of citizens through proper procedures. They should also reflect the free will of the people. The new Constitution was enacted under emergency martial law which banned all political activities. The Chon Du Hwan regime, in an atmosphere of terror, drafted the Constitution and forced the people to vote for it. We knew the fact that according to a plan for a constitutional revision made by the national assembly, the tenure of office of the President was four years, and it provided a direct presidential election. The establishment of the Legislative Council for National Security was illegal in itself. Though the Chon regime stated that the legislative council was established according to the present Constitution, this statement is untenable as the council had already been established before a law for its establishment was enacted. As the council which had no legitimate right enacted various laws which provide rules of the Fifth Republic in its own way, we can not escape the conclusion that these laws are invalid.

The most important reason why we condemned the Yusin system as a dictatorial system was its presidential election system. Outwardly, there is a difference between the Yusin Constitution and the new Constitution, because the electoral colleges are named differently – the National Conference for Unification and the Electoral Council. However, there is no basic difference between them as a system of indirect presidential election in which the government can intervene freely. It is unthinkable in a democratic country that the government should prohibit political canvassing tours in an election of a President who is to take the helm of the state. Though the government permits candidates to conduct election campaigns through broadcasts or TV, the number of election speech broadcasts is controlled by the government. In fact, no person other than Chon Du Hwan could run and win in the presidential election. Even in the case of a candidate who ran for the purpose of paving the way for Chon Du Hwan, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency eliminated some parts of his election advertisement run in newspapers. Especially, the recent election for the electoral college was more corrupt than those for the National Conference for Unification in the past. In fact, in the last presidential election, Chon and his company took it for granted that Chon should be President, and mobilized even the armed forces, squandering the national budget.

Furthermore, the general election system is very similar to that under the Yusin system. Under Pak Jung Hi's Yusin system, two national assemblymen were to be elected from an electoral district and the President appointed one third of all the legislators. Under the new election law, two are to be nominated from an electoral district elects and the largest vote-collecting party can appoint two thirds of all the parliamentarians. Thus, in other words, Chon Du Hwan can nominate one third of all locally-elected national assemblymen in the districts constituency, and the two thirds of those nationally-elected. The rest are only puppets. The so-called multi-party system is a facade to divert the people who support anti-government forces.

(To be continued)

Martial law troopers guard mass-arrested protestors, after a predawn blitzkrieg on Kwangju City. (May 27, 1980)

On May 5, 1980, 1,000 students of Koryo University, a prestigious private school in Seoul, staged an anti-"yusin" and anti-"martial law" demonstration downtown, Seoul.

"A–Bomb Victims in White Chogori" (16)

No Heed Given to Me

Min Ki Ho, 53 years old, male; resident of 2-12-20, Ino-cho, Ube City; born at Songju county, North Kyongsang Prov.; bombed at Hiroshima Station

(Continued from the previous issue)

It was in 1932, or when I was 16 years old that I came to Japan with my mother and my two brothers, to live with our father who was working at coal mines in Iizuka City, Fukuoka Prefecture, then. In Korea, in those days its colonial control by Japan was being strengthened. My native place was a village in Songju County, North Kyongsang Province. In my grandfather's days, my family had its land worked by tenant farmers. After the government general was established in Korea we were deprived of our land under various pretexts. At last, my father came to Japan in search of work when I was 4 years old. As our life was difficult in Korea, we came to Japan.

Our life was hard in Japan, too. We lived in poverty. In order to have less mouths to feed, I was adopted into my uncle's family, who was a tenant peasant in Ryui City, Yamaguchi Prefecture. After a while I entered Ikachi Elementary School, only one year after I came to Japan. I knew a little Japanese. My school was in the countryside and only 2-3 were Koreans among about 400 pupils. I was discriminated against. They said to me "*yobo* (you in Korean)" and "You smell of garlic." I couldn't learn. I quarreled with Japanese every day.

The China Incident (1937) broke out. Many men were mobilized for the war and funerals were held every day for the war dead. I couldn't lead a life proudly in my childhood, or in my school days. The teachers in those days were particularly discriminative to Koreans. They used to throw angry words at us, saying, "You are bad," "As you are a Korean," even though I did nothing wrong. When I was in the 1st grade of the advanced course of the elementary school, I quarreled with a teacher and I quit school. I think teachers' national discrimination consciousness can not be eliminated completely. I imagine they are still discriminating against us.

For some time I helped my family in farm work. I disliked farming and spent hopeless days. I was offered a job at Iwakuni Station by our landowner, a doctor, in October 1942. U.S. air raids were frequent. Wartime mobilization law also strengthened under the students mobilization act and the labor service mobilization act. The students of Sanyo and Matsumoto commercial high schools were also mobilized to work at the station. Conductors lodged at the Chugoku Hotel, which was located at Yamaguchi-cho, 1 km from the hypocentre. The hotel was rented by the Japanese National Railways after the manager of the hotel evacuated from the city. After I was promoted to a conductor from an apprentice, I worked 24 hours a day. I met air raids in Himeji City and Moji City during my work.

At that time, my father was in Takamori Village, Kuka County, Yamaguchi Prefecture in order to work on the Kokkou dam site. Just then, my grandmother also came from Korea. Though we were discriminated against, we were happy as we lived altogether.

However, when I saw a Korean wronged, I boiled with anger at the Japanese. As the war situation worsened, a large number of people were forced to come to Japan from Korea to work at a naval arsenal in Ko City. Some of them would flee to the Iriku and Takamori districts. They were unable to endure the hard labor.

One year before the war, a senior worker of the Japanese National Railway suggested that I volunteer to join the army. At that time I thought why we Koreans had to go to war, and anger surged in me. As I had such an idea during the war, I joined the national movement just after the liberation.

Air-Raid, Atom-Bomb Disaster

On Aug. 5, 1945, the day before an atomic bomb was dropped, my work at Kure City ended at about 4:00p.m. I returned home in Takamori, because my work was to begin at 9:00a.m. on the following day. I remember well how I ate polished rice, with a light switched on and slept. Takamori was not under a blackout. On Aug. 6 I thought I arrived at Hiroshima Station (2 km from the hypocentre) at five to eight in the morning, taking the first train. The platforms were filled with people hurrying to return home after night work, and people heading for their workplaces. At No. 1 platform train No. 311 arrived, two hours late. Among them I saw signalmen. Female students were waiting for a train on the Ujina Line, who had been mobilized for factory work. There were many people in the open in front of the station. On my way to the conductors' room on the second floor I heard air-raid alarms. An emergency alarm was also sounded. After I prepared for my work and the roll was called, I looked up at the sky, when I found a B-29 flying away, trailing a streak in the summer sky. Those looking up at the sky said, "They will never bomb Kyoto or Hiroshima." Talking to each other, no one tried to seek refuge. Major cities of Japan had so far been bombed. No one doubted that Kyoto and Hiroshima would not be bombed.

Just when I was talking to a woman ticket collector I saw a sharp flash in the sky and heard an explosion. At that moment I thought that a flare bomb had been dropped. Something foggy seemed to cover even thin. I was stunned. When I restored my consciousness, I found myself on the first step of the station. I must have been blown off by a blast. My mouth was full of sand and I was unable to see anything around myself because of a cloud of dust. I went out through fallen timbers. Fortunately, I was only slightly bruised on my back. The scene of the plaza in front of the station terrified me. A few ferro-concrete buildings remained. I was able to see the Fukuya Department Store which had not been seen before. I could easily see Mt. Hijiyama which stood far from the station. Everything was flattened. I was astonished to see the people. Pieces of broken glass were seen thrust into the bodies of some people. I saw some people with blood-stained hands and legs. A person with his eyeballs out of their sockets. Badly burnt people with peeled off skins and people in torn clothes ... The scene was like a picture of the hell, like a battle scene. I labored under a hallucination that those people were approaching me groaning.

When the station was bombed, conductors were to form a "first-aid" team. I tried to head for a railroad hospital. But I found only my legs turned in the direction of the hospital. At that time I heard a soldier shouting "Take refuge, those who can flee by themselves." I recovered my sense and went to the Azuma military drill ground at the back of the station, crossing the platforms. On the railroad tracks I saw many corpses and the wounded. When I was fleeing toward a mountain in Onaga, the city was a sheet of fire. In a bamboo forest I drank water for the first time. I remember feeling suddenly exhausted then.

At about 2:00p.m. I went over a mountain and arrived at the house of the assistant director of the conductor section, who lived near the Yaga Station on the Geibi Line. He was all right and ordered me to do work. The survivors were not allowed to return home. He ordered me to go to Bigo Tokaichi Station (Sanji Station), where rice balls were served and to carry them to Hiroshima City. That night when I left Yaga Station refugees swarmed the train, trying to get on the train. The train was unable to start, because it was dangerous. They didn't leave the train even if alarm whistles were sounded many times. Finally, the train started by shaking them off. When I look back on it, I think that was a cruel thing.

On the morning of Aug. 7, we carried rice balls to a temporary office of the military drill ground. After that my colleagues and I went to the Chugoku Hotel through smoldering streets. Dead bodies on the main streets had been carried away, but the dead bodies of my colleagues were still left in the hotel. That night I slept in a potato field on the military drill ground. At first I slept in a shack, but I was unable to sleep, as I was a sulty night. Then, I went out and slept beside a stack of something black. The next morning I found them to be corpses.

On Aug. 8 I decided to return to Takamori. I began to walk from Kai to Itsukaichi Station on the Sanyo Line. On my way to Itsukaichi Station, I saw a large number of people in a state of suspended animation on both sides of a road. The corpses were not yet burnt and were covered with straw matting. My senses were so paralyzed that I didn't feel anything even if I saw dead bodies. I think I was in an unusual psychological state then.

When I arrived at Takamori Station, the station staff was surprised at my black face. Many refugees were there and people in Takamori knew about "a new type bomb dropped on Hiroshima." When I went to a doctor on the morning of Aug. 9, he only told me to eat a lot of vegetables. We grew vegetables in our small garden. I ate them. I am healthy now because my grandmother and my mother took care of me well in those days.

After a while, rumors were around that neither trees nor plants would grow in Hiroshima and that those who were losing their hair after the atom-bombing were sure to die. When I heard this, I secretly touched my hair. A few hairs fell off with my wet hand. I was horrified.

It was on Aug. 13 that I came back to Hiroshima again. I was praised by the station officer and asked to go to Iwakuni to meet a train. I arrived at Iwakuni on Aug. 14, the day before the end of the war. On that morning the areas near Iwakuni received saturation bombing by B-29s. I was on the platform then and sought safety in an air-raid shelter. Incendiaries droped like rain. My body was turned over twice or thrice in the air-raid shelter as the earth shook. I went out, and stayed there for a while. I saw big holes 20 metres in diameter here and there. There were many corpses. I pondered on how I could survive.

I fled with a person in charge of baggage. I urged him to flee to the west, saying that it was safer in the west than in the east. While fleeing, we were bombed again. We hid ourselves in a same field near Arinuno Elementary School. The person in charge of baggage was hit directly by a bomb. Over 800 people reportedly died by this air-raid and I made a narrow escape again.

While I was fleeing, a soldier who was treating the wounded, gave no heed to me, saying that there was no medicine. Some people closed doors in front of me. Atom-bombing and the air-raid on Iwakuni–there were my cruel experiences.

Why did I, a Korean, have to work in Japan? Why did I undergo these difficulties? Not only Koreans but large numbers of Japanese were involved in the war and were victimized. I can't repress my anger at the criminal nature of the war.

For True Korea-Japan Exchange

I quit the Japan National Railways in March 1946. As I wanted to work as a railway man, I stayed in Japan to get a certificate testifying that I had worked for the Japan National Railways, though my grandmother, brothers and sisters repatriated. After a little, news came from Korea (south Korea) about political unrest there. Those who had been waiting for repatriation ships at Shimonoseki and Senzaki (both in Yamaguchi Prefecture), came back.

Later, under the leadership of the League of Koreans Residing in Japan, the national movement developed. Schools for young people where the Korean language was taught were set up in various places in Japan. Their aim was to educate Korean youths so that they might devote themselves to the cause of their homeland after their repatriation. I began to attend a youth school and engaged in the national movement in Iwakuni.

In the meantime, I sometimes participated in a Japanese peace movement. Ten years ago I participated in the World Conference against Nuclear Bombs held in Hiroshima. It was in 1966 that I received an A-bomb victim's certificate. We Koreans are not covered by the national health insurance system of Japan. We need a lot of money to receive medical treatment. In order to continue my activities, I have to take care of my health....

Four years ago I received a close medical examination at the Ube public health centre. I was not well and I had arthralgia. I got exhausted after a hard job. The results of the medical checkup showed that my red corpuscles were apt to be easily broken and I had endocrine trouble.

I was concerned about the hereditary effect. My two sons are well. I was assured by a doctor that my blood disease was due to my physical constitution. I am now trying hard to increase my physical strength to increase my red corpuscles, abstaining from alcoholic drinks and reducing the intake of meat and saccharide.

Thanks to the anti-nuclear movement in Japan, I got an A-bomb victim's certificate, and I now get health care allowances and an annual medical checkup. I know there are two or three Korean A-bomb victims in Ube City. I think there are actually more A-bomb victims. If they are not informed about medical guarantee for A-bomb victims and are not given an opportunity of medical examination because they are Koreans, that is a serious matter.

In order to strengthen true friendship between Koreans and Japanese, the Japanese should never forget the following fact: We Koreans in Japan are those who were forcibly taken here for forced labor, those who had been deprived of their land and were forced come to Japan in search of livelihoods, because of the war Japan started and because of the Japanese colonial policy in Korea. Therefore, there were many Koreans who were victimized by the atomic bomb. As a result of the war, our country was divided by the U.S.

Both our peoples should know each other well, and, I think, it is in this way that true cooperation and exchange will be realized. So, I want that young Koreans and Japanese will understand my experience. (To be continued)

Korean Paintings "Travellers" By Paek In Bae

Korean Cultural History (47)

Culture after Mid-19th Century

(Continued from the No. 1,045 issue of The People's Korea)

At the end of the Li dynasty, Korea was colonized by Japan. Despite their harsh colonial exploitation, the Korean people made an effort to keep and develop their own cultural identity. Their independence as a sovereign nation was violated by the foreign aggressors, and was completely denied from the mid-19th century to 1945 --a period of national sufferings.

Representative scholars and thinkers were Pak In Jik, Sin Rae Ho, Chu Si Kyong and Kim Ok Kyun.

Pak In Jin (1857-1926), a noted journalist wrote *A History of Korea, A Bloody History of the Independence Movement, Biography of General Li Sun Sin* and *Biography of An Jung Gun.* Sin Rae Ho (1880-1936), a leading pioneer of the press, kept up his patriotic principles.

Chu Si Kyong (1876-1941) was an important figure in resistance literature and linguistic studies. His works included *Korean Phonetics* and *Korean Grammar,* important reference books on the modern Korean language.

Kim Ok Kyun (1851-1894) was an inspirer of progressive reforms, identified with the early bourgeoisie ideas.

What was characteristic of the then progressive cultural activities was resistance to the foreign aggressive forces and the feudalistic system--patriotic enlightenment.

These patriotic and progressive thinkers, scholars and writers used newspapers and magazines as their forums.

With the inauguration of *Han Song Junpo* in October, 1883, newspapers and magazines were published one after another. *Tokrip Sinmun (Independence Newspaper)* published in 1896 was the first Korean letters' newspaper. Prominent were *Hwangnon Sinmun , Cheguk Sinmun* (1898), *Taehan Maeil Sinbo* (1905), *Manje-ho* (1906) and *Taehan Minbo* (1909). Noted magazines included *Taehan Chaganghow Cabo,* organ of Autonomy for Strengthening Korea, (1906) and papers such as *Sobuk Hakkye Hoebo.*

During this period, too, numerous works of literature were published aimed at propagating patriotic ideas, defending civil rights and spreading new knowledge.

Many foreign biographies were translated into Koreans including *Biography of Joan of Arc.* Biographies of patriotic generals were also put out. Among them were *Life of Ulchi Mun Dok, Life of General Li Sun Sin, Biography of Kang Gam Chan, Life of Kim Yu Sin* and *Biography of Yang Man Chun.* Novels also came off press, including *Bell of Freedom.*

Among poems loved by anti-Japanese volunteers and patriots were *My Prison Poem* by Chon Hae San and *Curse to Bureaucrats Who Have Ruined the Country* by Ryu Rin Sok and *Dedicated to Volunteers* by Kyu Rin Sok.

Chon Hae San, Choe Ik Hyon and other commanders of the Volunteer Army, killed in actions against the Japanese aggressors, composed poems in their last moments. These poems are excellent pieces of poetry written in Chinese characters in those days. They are overflowing with poets' deep chagrin at their death without driving out the enemy out of the country and with their ardent patriotic feeling that neither honour and wealth nor severe penalties can shake their love for the nation.

The more sadness overcomes me,
The more sluggish the stream looks to me.
Tear of regret fall,
When rain starts to fall.
Farewell to you,
Yongsan Island, my beloved home!
I will return to you
A cuckoo to make you my last home.

(*My Prison Poem* by Chon Hae San)

This poem prompts indignation through a clear poetical representation by the deft use of metaphors and epithets combined with profound lyricism.

Ryu Rin Sok, another commander of the Volunteer Army, were known for poems expressing the curse and indignation of the Korean people at being reduced to the colonial status. His works were a scathing condemnation of the traitors to the country and a call for awakening. One of his poem entitled *Curse to Bureaucrats Who Have Ruined the Country,* reads:

High officials, listen with attention!
For this decline of the nation,
Who is to blame, if not you?
In the Court, in a hidden coup,
You seized power by violence
To suck up all the blood from the nation.

When the nation was in jeopardy,
You thought little of that,
Much less the people's fate.

Still dissatisfied with that,
You gave in to the enemy
And were named prince or marquis for that
To become traitors to the country.
O, what a shame!

Among the political articles there were *Appeal to All the Nation,* and *Note to Japanese Government* (Choe Ik Hyon). To take the example of songs, *Song of Students,* and *Song of Independence* were very popular.

These patriotic cultural activities were suppressed and became underground in the wake of the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910.

After the liberation, a new culture created in the DPRK is based on the Juche idea characterized as respectful people. (Concluded)

NEWS DISPATCH FROM PYONGYANG

May 20

* The Song and Dance Ensemble of the Korean People's Army left Pyongyang by train for a visit to China.

May 22

* A delegation of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development of Rwanda headed by Habimana Bonaventure, General Secretary of the Movement, arrived in Pyongyang by air for a visit to the DPRK at an invitation of the Central Committee of the WPK.
* An agreement on cooperation in radio broadcasting between the Radio and Television Broadcasting Committee of the DPRK and the General Bureau of Bulgarian Radio and the 1981-83 working plan on cooperation in radio broadcasting between the two broadcasting organs were signed in Budapest.

May 23

* A delegation of the WPK headed by Chong Jun Gi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK and Vice-Premier of the Administration Council, left Pyongyang by air to attend the 18th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.
* A delegation of the Korean Journalists Union left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to the Soviet Union.

May 25

* A delegation of the Indian Juche Philosophy Study Society headed by S. K. Bose, Principal of Bihar National College of Patna University (Bihar) who is member of the Indian Juche Philosophy Study Society of Patna University, arrived in Pyongyang by plane.
* Mozambican President Samora Moises Machel met Kang Su Myong, ambassador of the DPRK to his country.

The president said that Mozambique unconditionally supports the proposal for national reunification put forward by President Kim Il Sung.

Stressing that Korea is one, he said: As one Korea is kept artificially divided by the U.S. imperialists, the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from south Korea arises as the fundamental question for reunification of Korea. He called for the unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. troops from south Korea.

May 26

* Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the CC of the Finnish Communist Party, met the delegation of the WPK headed by Yang Hyong Sop, Member of the CC of the WPK, on a visit to Finland to attend the 19th Congress of the FCP. The chairman expressed satisfaction with the excellent development of the relations between the Finnish Communist Party and the WPK and said that the FCP would further develop the relations between the two parties in the future.

He voiced support and solidarity for the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country and stressed that the FCP would always support the fair and above-board policy of the WPK for national reunification.
* A delegation of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK headed by Chairman of its Standing Committee Hwang Jang Yop left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to the Bangladesh People's Republic and the Republic of India.
* A Rodong Sinmun (organ of the CC of the WPK) delegation headed by Chong Ha Chon left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to China.

May 27

* A delegation of the Korea-Soviet Friendship Society headed by Li Bong Hui left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to the Soviet Union.

May 28

* A delegation of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea headed by Hyon Sok left Pyongyang by air to attend the 11th Congress of the Free German Youth.

May 29

* A delegation of the China Federation of Literature and Art Circles headed by its Vice-Chairman Lin Mohan arrived in Pyongyang by train.

May 30

* A government delegation of the DPRK headed by Vice-Premier Kye Ung Tae left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to the Republic of Indonesia.

June 1

* A party workers delegation of the Malta Labour Party arrived in Pyongyang by plane.
* A Cuban delegation for friendship and solidarity headed by Alfonso Guillen Zelaya, Vice-Chairman of the Cuban Association for Friendship among the People, arrived in Pyongyang by air. (KCNA)

'Reagan: Wrong-Way Look at Korea'

On the occasion of Chon Du Hwan's visit to the U.S. Donald Ranard, former director of the Office of Korean Affairs in the State Department (1970-1974), reviewed the past U.S. involvement in Korea in his article to The Los Angeles Times dated Feb. 3, 1981.

Saying that it is wrong for the American government to be playing host to Chon Doo Hwan at this precarious moment, Mr. Ranard warned that the Reagan administration are headed in the wrong direction.

Mr. Ranard was a former political counselor in the U.S. embassy in Seoul and is now the director of the Center for International Policy in Washington.

Follows an excerpt of his article

Over the past 30 years, every American President has been confronted by "the Korean problem." For some it came early in their administrations, for others it came late, but none escaped the dilemma.

Even before entering the White House, Dwight D. Eisenhower went to Korea to end the war. Four months after his inauguration, John F. Kennedy faced Gen. Park Chung Hee's coup. Lyndon B. Johnson was confronted by the seizure of the Pueblo, Richard M. Nixon by Park's dreaded Yushin Constitution, which among other things, eliminated direct election and gave Park even more dictatorial powers; Gerald R. Ford by Koreagate, and Jimmy Carter by Park's headlong rush to ultimate authoritarianism and his assassination in October, 1979.

Now another American Administration has taken office only to be met against by the same problem. This time it revolves around the fate of Kim Dae Jung, the Korean opposition leader who was sentenced to death on charges of sedition, which the U.S. State Department has called "far-fetched," and who underwent a trial that defied acceptable international standards of justice.

Three days after his inauguration, President Reagan, elected on a promise of hard-nosed diplomacy based on linkage, made an unpalatable deal with the Korean military: Spare Kim Dae Jung, and Korea's Gen. Chun Doo Hwan can visit the United States. But, given an innocent Kim wrongly tried and convicted, is this the best that could have been exacted from the Korean military? And, more important, is this justice?

In his first press conference, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. said that "there were no deals" regarding Kim's fate. The evidence is otherwise.

It is no secret that the Korean military, like its counterparts in Latin America, favored Reagan in the recent American election. Subsequently, in both Seoul and Washington, it escalated its representations to the Reagan transition team, attempting to assess Reagan's policy toward Seoul.

Messages were passed from Reagan's men that Kim's execution would sour the atmosphere of bilateral relationships. The Koreans had heard this from Carter's State Department but, as a defeated President, his warning had little effect. From Reagan's transition team, however, the message carried an ominous warning. Shrewd negotiators, Chun's emissaries then angled for a visit by their boss, and the deal was struck.

While it may not constitute a "deal" in Haig's terminology, both sides were not talking past each other; they understood the terms. Haig also has said that Chun's visit to the United States was not politically motivated in terms of Korea's national elections, which will take place this month. At worst Haig is badly informed, at best disembling.

In every election in Korea since 1948, the strength of a Korean candidate's ties to Washington has been an important factor. In 1971, it was essential that Park Chung Hee be able to show that he was "Washington's boy." Indeed, it was for this reason that he sent Chung Il Kwon, his former prime minister, to Washington in December, 1970, to court on his behalf the favor of the State Department and the Pentagon. And it was for that reason that Park frantically tried to block an appointment in January, 1971, by Secretary of State William Rogers with Kim Dae Jung during his visit to Washington for the same purpose.

For years Washington has claimed that it was not interfering in Korea's domestic affairs. This was all too frequently its feeble excuse for not commenting publicly about Park Chung Hee's disregard for human rights. But, by agreeing to see Chun Doo Hwan in Washington on the eve of Korea's national election, Reagan is blatantly demonstrating a preference for Chun's candidacy and leadership. One can reasonably ask whether Washington will accord the same high-level treatment to other Korean candidates should they also choose to come here before the elections.

Washington's nod at this critical juncture is being rationalized as an effort to bolster Chun against other generals and Young Turks who supposedly have been opting for a continued tight rein of civilian affairs and greater independence from Washington. Supposedly we are being told that Chun will now be enabled to pursue a more moderate course internally.

Chun a moderate? Someone is either misreading recent Korean affairs or deliberately preying on Korean and American gullibility. Wasn't it Chun who seized power after Park Chung Hee's assassination because he believed that the interim leaders were turning away from Park's legacy of repression and terror? Who was it who arrested the senior military officers, censored the press, extended martial law, imprisoned dissidents, arbitrarily excluded hundreds of political leaders from the democratic process and forced out of government thousands of civil servants suspected of ties to the opposition? And who was it who gave the order for the assault on Kwangju in which some 1,000 Korean citizens -- women, students, dissidents and even innocent by-standers -- were savaged and murdered?

Inevitably with Korean affairs one is reminded of history. A few days after his coup of May, 1961, the late Gen. Park Chung Hee surprised the press with an announcement that he was going to Washington "to talk to President Kennedy." Gen. Park was stopped in his tracks, however, by then-American Charge d'Affaires Marshall Green, who simply responded, "He can't, he hasn't been invited." Green was attempting to use the carrot of diplomatic negotiations, a chance for a foreign head of government to meet in Washington with the American President.

It is wrong for the American government to be playing host to Chun Doo Hwan at this precarious moment. Wrong because it dispates the leverage that we still possess in Korea, and because it provides a stamp of approval to a ruthless military leader whose standards are unacceptable to civilized society.

If this is to be the measure of his new look at foreign relations and human rights, President Reagan and his new secretary of state are headed in the wrong direction.

Exclusive Interview with Dr. Daniel Ellsberg

Here are excerpts from interview with Dr. Daniel Ellsberg:

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Q. *Is it true you said at Iwakuni that nuclear weapons there are stored for a possible preemptive attack on the Korean Peninsula? If so, what do you mean by a preemptive attack on Korea? Under what conditions will such nuclear attack take place?*

A. Of course, I have said that to my knowledge, nuclear weapons were stored in Iwakuni in the late 50s and through the mid '60s. There is no evidence available yet as to whether the nuclear weapons did ever leave permanently. The latest revelation has been that the ship (the LST) was there at least through 1966 as has been admitted by one of the former captains of the ship. But he did not say that it left the area, then, it might stay there for a much longer period. Certainly, major mission of Marines in Korea, the Marine aircraft, is to support U.S. operations in south Korea against north Korea. U.S. planning has always been based upon a readiness to initiate nuclear operations in the event of a conflict. For that purpose, weapons have always been stored in Korea as well. As you know, Defense Secretary Schlesinger in 1975, I believe, announced publicly that the U.S. was prepared to initiate nuclear war in Korea and could not renounce such an action in the event of hostilities. Nuclear attacks either in south or north Korea would presumably, according to plans, be a response to hostilities in Korea of non-nuclear nature, whether the U.S. chose to escalate such hostilities into nuclear war. But if the U.S. should believe that an attack by north Korean aircraft are about to take place, either prior to actual hostilities or during the hostilities, then the U.S. planning has always allowed for a possibility that the U.S. aircraft or missiles strike first. A preemptive strike or the so-called preemptive strike is a strike supposedly at least or allegedly in an anticipation of an enemy's strike. Notice, by the way, that a preemptive case is not the only case in which we might use nuclear weapons. The U.S. planning which allows for the initiation of nuclear war does not require any expectation that the adversary has the capability to launch nuclear strikes or air strikes at all, or is about to do so. So the preemptive case would be only one instance of the initiation of nuclear war by the United States.

Q. *Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque claims that north Korea is in no position to launch a surprise attack on south Korea and that the U.S. nuclear presence in south Korea and the sophisticated hardware in the hands of south Koreans pose a serious threat to the north. Do you share his view? If you have any knowledge about the American nuclear presence in south Korea, please elaborate on its scale and aim and the policy of U.S. nuclear use in that part of Asia.*

A. I'm really not well-informed about the American nuclear or non-nuclear presence in south Korea today in terms of its details. My knowledge is very out of date on that matter. So I can't comment on LaRocque's claim about the current balance. However, very generally, I believe that this U.S. policy of threatening to initiate nuclear war is wrong in every instance in the world, wherever this is made. It is unnecessary and it is illegitimate to excuse the arms race and the atmosphere of conflict in general. I think it is very harmful to the U.S. security in the long run as well as to the security interest of our allies. And indeed, all humans are threatened by a possibility of a nuclear war.

Q. *Will resumption of hostilities in Korea expand into nuclear exchange with holocaust to Japan and other neighbouring countries?*

A. This question whether the resumption of hostilities must lead to nuclear exchange depends very much on the previous question as to what the nature of balance truly is now. As I said earlier, I'm not well-informed. I have read, but I cannot evaluate myself, that currently the south Korean forces are in fact significantly stronger than the north Korean forces and should be able to handle any non-nuclear attack without nuclear weapons, and indeed without even the help of American forces, certainly American ground forces. But I'm not in a position to evaluate. I will say if south Korean forces with or without help of Americans could handle an attack without using unclear weapons. I believe they would not probably be hasty to use nuclear weapons. But, of course, south Korea, in such a case, if nuclear exchange did begin, would be extremely vulnerable just as any territory would be. So I would say then any hostilities in Korea have a great potential for expanding into nuclear exchange just as in the Middle East. But I would say that they must not necessarily happen. Again, if hostilities break out in Korea, there is a great danger of their spreading to Japan and other neighbouring countries, but again, not a certainty under the conditions of parity. Some would say that any use of nuclear weapons must inevitably expand widely. I do not believe that myself. And I say this is not a basis of optimism, because I think the chances that nuclear war could be kept limited, if it were outside Europe. The very reality of the possibility that nuclear exchange could be limited to the Korean Peninsula, is in itself one of the elements of our situation which tempt people to start such a war which could, of course, always expand and even if they should be successful, in a short run, and did not expand, such a war is the most dangerous precedent for further conflict of the same nature. In fact, the very fact that the particular conflicts do not expand might well encourage the use of nuclear weapons in the later situation which then might escalate.

Q. *I understand you favor Japan becoming a nuclear-free peace zone. What is your reaction to a proposal to mark out Northeast Asia, including Korea and Japan, as a nuclear-free peace zone?*

A. Of course, I strongly favor a non-nuclear peace zone as large as possible, ultimately covering the entire globe. So were ever people to take initiative to bring about such a nuclear-free zone, I think, they are contributing to this eventual development of a peaceful globe, a peaceful earth. Although such a general development must include many different sorts of measures including changes in policies by the superpowers themselves, no first-use (of nuclear weapons) commitment, a freeze on the production, testing and the deployment of all the nuclear weapons and so forth. Presumably that will not happen without great public pressure at home and abroad. So, people in Korea, Japan and elsewhere can certainly contribute to these necessary changes. One of the best ways of influencing in shaping the environment of those superpowers is for such smaller countries themselves to refuse any further to be part of this process of the arms race and of the superpower rivalry and in effect to strike for peace against these policies by withdrawing their own participation.

Q. *Why did you decide to quit a good job at the Pentagon and involve yourself in the anti-war peace campaign?*

A. Well, I believe, in 1969 that the course of the Vietnam War was to continue and was to expand. This could not effectively be changed from within the Executive Branch, that is, the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department. And that it would require a great public pressure from the Congress and from the public to bring about an end to the war on our part. And in turn that would not happen unless the public was much better informed as to the facts of our planning, the facts of the intentions of the decision-makers in the Executive Branch. I did not have current documents with which to reveal the estimates and plans of the Nixon Administration. But I did have, of course, a top secret history that showed a very consistent pattern of escalation and aggression and deception by the past administrations from which the public could properly infer a similar deception and plans for escalation on the part of the Nixon Administration. And in this knowledge, they would act, I hope, to resist. Even though people may suspect that the president intends to enlarge such a war, in any case not to end it, they are not likely to act to take the risks and the costs in the simple physical burdens of such a resistance unless they feel almost sure in many cases, I mean may individuals such as myself, in fact, were willing to do that without being sure if they felt there was a sufficient likelihood. But many other people if their careers are at stake or they are involved in supporting their families, are reluctant to take even a psychological difficulty of defining themselves as being in opposition to their own government unless they feel unmistakably sure that this is necessary. In that light I hoped that the documentary proof in the Pentagon Papers would convince people that the time has come when they must take responsibility themselves for the policies of our country and act to change them against the will of the president. And obviously I could not release these top secret documents to the Congress or the press without not only giving up my job but without expecting to go to jail. I did expect to go to jail and was indicted in fact for a possible sentence of hundred fifteen years, although charges were eventually dismissed because of the governmental misconduct in response to my measure. It's really in the same spirit that I came to Japan here not only to confirm what has been more strongly confirmed now by ex-Ambassador Reischauer and Johnson (the former Deputy Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs) about the LST and other nuclear weapons in Japan but also give the Japanese

Dr. Daniel Ellsberg

Diet a document very similar to the Pentagon Papers, a top secret study of more than 600 pages of the Taiwan Straight Crisis over Island of Quemoy in 1958 which actually was a case when the U.S. came very close to initiating nuclear war. I found by the Japanese public's reaction to the recent revelations by Dr. Reischauer and by myself that the Japanese public takes history with a proper seriousness in my opinion. In general, Americans do not. They tend to neglect the study of history. They do not pay much attention toward history. But I was very impressed that the Japanese public took quite seriously to realize the LST was off Iwakuni even 20 years ago or 15 years ago and whether or not it continued right to the present. And I think they are right to look at such evidence as a basis for understanding what the current policies really are, what the true intentions of the government are. So I hope that history, when it becomes available through the Diet, will be studied by the people long as it is, because I think it would offer a great deal of enlightenment about the genuine risks of nuclear war that are raised in the world precisely by the U.S. policy which has always relied on first-use threat.

Q. *What do you think of the recent Israeli surprise attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor?*

A. Well, I think that it exemplified the same kind of supposedly realistic and tough-minded responsible decision-making which brought the U.S. into Vietnam and many other countries across other people's borders. It is an active aggression. And it demonstrates not only the willingness of the industrialized countries, not only the industrialized countires, to launch preemptive attacks. But in that context, of course, it shows that nuclear facilities such as the Iraqi reactor can attract an attack as well as deter. That is just true of carrier Midway in the Indian Ocean or elsewhere and other nuclear capacities. I think that Japan would do well to draw several lessons from this experience. Both have reactors as potential weapons source, source of weapons material. The reactor lowered Iraqi security and created more danger for Iraq. At the same time, the Israeli surprise attack, I believe, is more dangerous for the prospects of the Israeli future security than the Iraqi reactor would have been. Meanwhile, of course, in this very same area, my own country, the United States is busily making threats to initiate nuclear war in the event of Soviet non-nuclear attack. In all these matters I find state policy is characterized by extreme short-sightedness, reckless narrow-minded militaristic focus and to be traditional imperial policies in a nuclear era when such policies are both genocidal and suicidal. I can only hope that the attack will serve as a kind of lighting flash that will light up the dangers of the nulcear environment for the rest of the world.

Q. *What do you think should be done to prevent nuclear conflicts?*

A. I think really a variety of measures must be taken in response to the first requirement that the people of the world take responsibility for these matters and abandon the notion that they can afford to shift all the responsibility to their own government officials who have lied to them so often and whose values in these matters and willingness to risk nuclear war are much different from those of most public. The kinds of actions and aims, I think, that are useful at this moment, include nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, also world-wide pressure for a commitment by the superpowers never to use nuclear weapons first under any conditions. And to make this much more than verbal commitment, it should be demanded that they change their deployment of weapons in the light of this new commitment that nuclear weapons have no other function at most than to deter nuclear attack. In that light there is no reason for nuclear weapons to be outside the home territory of the superpowers or definitely under-water in relatively invulnerable submarines. They should remove all nuclear weapons from the surface ships from the territories of allies and from other bases abroad brings those weapons home. I think that would be a great contribution to safety in itself. Finally an immidiate bilateral freeze on the production, testing and deployment of all nuclear weapons and nuclear-capable vehicles by the superpowers should be the object of the world-wide pressure, I believe, starting, of course, in the homelands of the superpowers or I should say specifically my country where the ability to launch a public pressure is much great. To accomplish this end, I think we will need the whole range of kinds of the actions which were used effectively to bring Vietnam War to an end in my country. I think we need this, of course, more in a new situation. I think means should be non-violent. I would say exclusively that violence cannot destroy plutonium. It only spreads around in effect and its largest sense confirms the violence leads to production of plutonium. So I think among the non-violent methods, both electoral activity, education of all kinds and lobbying and political pressure, and demonstrations and non-violent civil disobedience including, for example, draft resistance. Although necessary useful and powerful currently new waves of dramatizing problems are always useful such as Copenhagen-Paris peace march that is beginning in just two weeks now to spread petitions throughout Europe and literature and draw attention to the aim of nuclear-free Europe. I would be speaking at the opening of that peace march in Copenhagen.

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